Interview H0205: with Sambo, Tenzin Thondrub [tib. bsam pho, bstan 'dzin don grub, (India, 1981): Part No. 14 of 25

Sambo continues to discuss the period of the Lungshar era. He also talks about exchanging and selling serfs (misr) and corporal punishments.

Q

[unclear]

Α

After Rampa went back home from Lhalu, it was the time when Lungshar was famous and she asked Lungshar's son Lhalu Sawang as their bridegroom. Lhalu then was young; like a teenager. So she needed somebody to keep the relation [to be her husband till Lhalu would grow up], so probably Lungshar did that. Lhalu told me that he went to the Lhalu house at the age of twelve, and by the time he was fifteen, he had already started living (having an affair) with the grand old lady of Lhalu. Until he was 26 or 27 he was living in the Lhalu house with the old lady and she was telling this adopted son that they had the commitment of bringing a new right bride for Lhalu Shape. So Thönpa's daughter Dekyi [tib. bde skyid] was taken in. She is now the wife of Lhalu Shape. Three or four years after that however, they didn't get along well in the Lhalu house. The grand old lady was becoming jealous of the young bride, so the couple left for Chamdo. Then she kept him [Lhalu] separately. Even up to today they [Lhalu and Dekyi] are together. One thing I forgot to say was that the old lady didn't go to Chamdo and that is the beginning of the relation. ???

Q

When Rampa went back home, were there trouble or did he just go back?

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There wasn't any talk about trouble. He also didn't stay for long with her, he stayed for about four or five months.

Q

At that time, did the Dalai Lama have the power to tell people to go or not to go?

Α

Whether the Dalai Lama had the power or not, he had done that in the case of Tsarong Jensel Nangangla [tib. spyan bsal gnam gang lags] who was given to the Tsarong house as a magpa, but that is okay as Nangangla was a bachelor. In the Rampa affair, she might have thought that as there was one lady with two husbands, one was extra, but whatever she thought did not come about, for Rampa stayed only for about four months.

Q

As for the reason for the Lhündrup Dzong event, was it that they issued an order concerning some loans? How did that happen?

Α

I do not remember it. I just heard that the monks came to collect loans and they told the dzongpön about that and the dzongpön told the monks not to do it so the monks hit him with a sword. I heard that there is a mark of the sword on a beam.

Q

Did they kill him with a sword?

Α

At first, they used a sword. I don't know whether the sword hit the person or not, but the sword hit the beam. The wood was cut. It is not sure whether he was killed by a sword or by a beating.

Q

Did he die right away or did he write a letter to his brother in Lhasa?

Probably he didn't die right away, but his death was caused by that [event].

Q

What about sending the letter? Who wrote the petition?

Α

Lhündrub Dzong was the salary estate of Trunyichemmo Chömphel Thubten [tib. chos 'phel thub bstan].

Q

Who send the information to the trunyichemmo?

Α

Probably, his wife or children might have sent the information.

Q

Did he write the letter?

Α

I don't know whether he wrote it or not. Probably, he couldn't write it. They might have beat him quite severely.

Q

When the issue came back to Lhasa what did the government do first? Did they immediately set up an investigation committee or what exactly happened? I have a lot of dates here but it looks to me like all this happened in April or May. There seems to be a gap of time. Could we figure out what happened before the new year and after the new year, when the news reached Lhasa and people came to know about it?

Α

I do not remember the exact dates, probably, it was in March, April or May, but it was after the New Year and the weather was warmer. It was not very warm, but quite a bit warmer. Not summer, but certainly warmer than the earlier days.

Q

When it first started?

Α

Yes. A little warmer than when it first started.

Q

When you first heard the news, was the weather warmer?

Α

Yes. Probably it was in the 3rd Tibetan month.

Q

Geleg: What should have happened was that they collect the grains only in autumn. At that time they would go north for two or three months and stay until roughly the Ganden Ngamchö holiday. They have two or three months and they go back and forth during that time. Then probably the man got killed, and the trunyichemmo might have accused them [appealed for an investigation]. If I remember right, it was in Potala that the investigation started. It may have been in the Potala. It must have been the wintertime. In between that, the abbot managed to escape, and the monks refused to attend the Mönlam, that being an important year when the Dalai Lama had been invited to the Mönlam by Sera Mey [tib. smad] or Tsomönling [tib. tshe smon gling]. If all of Sera Jey was missing, it would not have been nice at all so the government cleverly decided not to do anything before that. They negotiated and asked the monks to attend the Mönlam. They assured them that after Mönlam was over then they would investigate. For the first two days [of Mönlam], they didn't come but finally they came. The sequence that I remember is that on the day after the twentieth, my father was in the investigation committee, and Shakabpa also said that he was an investigator, as well as another trunyichenmo. These two sought to be excused on the grounds that the case was complicated and that more people were needed on the investigation committee. Finally they made all the trungtsi [investigators], and they also added two more.

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At that time, the investigatory committee was called "Thekhen Trungtsi Gudrel" [tib. tha'i mkhan drung rtsis dgu sbrel], right?

Α

Yes.

Q

What did you hear about the investigation and the case?

Α

[talking again about the Lhündrub Dzong saying the same as above] I heard that the monks killed that man. Actually it is not right for a monk to kill a person. It was astonishing. Then after this, probably the trunyichemmo made a case. In the Thekhen Trungtsi Gudrel, the Theiji was my father, the Khenche was Dombor Khyenrab Wangchuk [tib. gdong por mkhyen rab dbang phyug] and the other three trunyichemmo were Jogteng and Gyambumgang and probably Lheding Ngawang [Dragpa] [tib. Iha Iding ngag dbang grags pa]. Because Chömphel Thubten had himself filed the case, he was not a member of the investigation committee. Then they held the investigation on the top floor of the Kangyur Printing House. The monks were shut up in the lower floor and they were called one by one for interrogating and then sent off through a side door and locked up. The side door led to the Potala. How we came to know was that my father came home very late one day and when we asked him why he was delayed, and he explained that he was delayed because of the monks' incident that had happened on that day and that the monks had been individually questioned and locked up, but he was not sure where they had been locked up; whether in Sharchenjog in the Potala or down in Shöl. My father was not very sure.

Q

Which ones did they call in? Were they the officials of Sera and all the people involved or who?

Α

They called the monastic officials like Repe Gyau, etc., the ones who were involved, the ringleaders.

Q

Why should they be arrested?

Α

Probably they were the root cause who mobilized them to do that.

Q

Do you mean to kill the dzongpön?

Α

Probably, they told the monks that you should fight with the dzongpön because we need the grain for supplying the donggo rite. Anyway, they were the root cause of this trouble.

Q

Did you hear about that before the Sera Je abbot Ngagya [tib. ngag rgya] refused to come?

Α

I didn't hear that. In my own house, there were some government guns, and even our chandzö and a servant called Pema Gyalpo [tib. pad ma rgyal po] had taken two guns and stood on guard. Because my late uncle was a depön, he had yet to hand over some thirty or forty guns, and they got the other servants ready to hand out the arms to them. As far as I remember, I went to the roof of the house trying to look into Sera Je through binoculars, but at night I could not see anything because they were not using any kerosene lights or torches. So I could not see anything through the binoculars. On that night, they probably had said that somebody would come.

Q

When did he do this? Was this right afterwards or before your father becomes one of the investigation committee?

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It was before the meeting of the investigation committee when it was said that the monks would burst out of the monastery. I think that when they interrogated the monks, they did so separately and they didn't let them meet. Therefore, I think there may have been some danger.

Q

Did they ever send troops?

Α

Probably they had doubts, but no troops were dispatched.

Q

How did they get these monastic officials to come down [for interrogation]? If they didn't send soldiers, how could they come there?

Α

If they told them that Chömphel Thubten had made a case so we need to ask you some questions. Then they will come.

Q

I don't think so because before that the abbot of Sera Je didn't come down [to be interrogated].

Α

Reting Rimpoche resigned in the Snake Year. No it was in the Dragon Year. Probably, it was in the Monkey Year in 1942-43 when Reting came to Lhasa once.

Q

In what month did he come?

A

I don't remember, but I think it was in the third or fourth month.

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Do you remember anything about what people said. That he would come to be the Regent again and so on?

Α

I do not remember Reting coming to become the regent, but I do remember Reting's coming with his elaborate retinue.

Q

Did you hear that Reting had protested against the Lhündrup Dzong [case] decision?

Α

I don't have anything to tell you, but probably he might not have said that because by that time it had been quite a long time since Taktra had started hating Reting. If they would have been close, then he might have said that.

Q

Do you remember precisely when Taktra started hating Reting? Do you feel that when Reting came to Lhasa, Taktra had already started to be antagonistic toward Reting?

Α

I cannot pin point accurately the time it started, but I think it was within a year or two; Not even two, but less than two, that the pro-Reting people started being brought down from their positions. And any new appointments were made only to Taktra's people, or maybe a neutral person. But never a Reting favorite.

Q

Have you heard that later Taktra had lot of spies or anything like that going around? Have you heard anything about that?

Α

I have not heard that.

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About that time they started to train some people in wireless, or planned to start a school. Have you heard the various talk and opinions of the kudrak and the government officials about that?

Α

I remember them talking about the old school in Gyantse that had been destroyed. And that they were starting one in Lhasa and planned to have one teacher named Parker. About a hundred children had been selected, and they had started to go to Trungji Linga [tib. drung spyi lhan khang]. That is all I remember.

Q

Who supported this project? The lay officials or the government?

Α

It was organized by the government as a whole.

Q

At that time, did the lay officials support it more or did there tsidrung support it more?

Α

Probably, the lay officials supported it more, but it lasted only 4-5-6 months. It was Shen Chuzhang [ch. chu zhang], the Guomindang director, who destroyed the school. He went to all the monasteries like Sera and distributed money and he probably have told them it was bad for religion if they set up the English School or something, but I think it was Shen Chuzhang who did it; who told them to go and destroy it.

Q

Why did the government give in so easily?

Α

They just did. I have not heard about that, but it may have been done by the monks because the Guomindang Director Shen Chuzhang went to the monastery, and specially to Sera. He also definitely went to Drepung, but he went more times to Sera.

Q

What were people like you thinking in 1944 or 1945, at the time that the war was about to end? What were they thinking about at that time? What kinds of things did people think about? Were they worried about the Chinese? Were they concerned about Tibet's future?

Α

During the time of the 2nd World War, there was some kind of danger. Although I was a kid, some senior officers were thinking that it would be necessary to align with [tib. sbyar] some big nations so that we could survive. Then the World War ended.

Q

Who was saying that?

Α

My father used to discuss this with Panda Yamphel and with Tsögo, the famous depön, etc. They used to talk about this.

Q

Who did they think they could join up with?

Α

They had thought of Japan, because they had relationships with Japan. During the 13th Dalai Lama's era, he used to send people to Japan and the Japanese used to come to Tibet, so at that time, they tried to ally with the Japan, but it was said that it would not work out because it was too far away.

Q

Did he try to ally with Japan?

Α

Probably he did because he sent Tshatrü [tib, tsha sprul] Rinpoche to Japan.

Do you mean during the former Dalai Lama?

Α

Yes.

Q

Wasn't there anything done during the World War?

Α

At that time, nobody was doing that. It was just empty talk.

Q

Did people then think that this was a big decision and if they could have then joined the Allies instead of saying that they were not going to join the Allies, they would have got arms and a lot of help, and after the war there would have been more relations because in the First World War the Dalai Lama offered to send troops?

Α

Nothing happened like that.

Q

At this time were there many people thinking that the British would be the main ones to help Tibet?

Α

If they would have to ask for help, people were thinking that Britain was the main one.

Q

What was the difference between the monk officials and the lay officials? Were the monk officials interested in the future or were they more interested in monastic life? Would the monastic officials deal with them and were the monk officials interested in the government and would they talk about the same things?

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They considered lay officials to be better in thinking, because although the tsidrung had equal rights, being monks they were thought to be a little kind of rash and shortsighted [tib. to ro mo ro]. They were also kind of straightforward in character and they won't use many kind of deceitful methods. As far as thinking was concerned, the tsidrung would more or less rely on the lay officials thinking that the lay officials would be better in thinking.

Q

The monks considered religion and the monasteries more important than the government, and they put the government second. Did the tsidrung also have the same attitude?

Α

The lay officials considered the government more important, because if the government were not stable, then they felt Buddhism and also the monasteries would not survive, but the tsidrung considered that Buddhism was most important, government came second and the monasteries third.

Q

And in the monasteries, what did the monastic officials think?

Α

The monastic officials considered the monasteries most important and they were even thinking that if they didn't exist, Buddhism or the dharma also won't exist.

Q

What were the events leading up to. Or let's take World War II, what would you say about the Victory Congratulations Mission [tib. g.yul rgyal bkra shis bde legs]?

Α

After the 2nd World War ended, it was said that we should send a group to offer congratulations on the military victory.

Q

Why did they send that?

Α

At that time, India was under the British and Tibet is located nearest to the British and China and we had good relations with them. Therefore, it was said that we should send a group to congratulate the military victory.

Q

Who fist had this idea? Who set up this group?

Α

I don't know who set it up.

Q

What was your job at that time?

Α

I was the Kashag Shöpa [tib. bka' shag shod pa]. The work of the Kashag Shöpa was not very special except we issued the corvee travel documents [tib lam yig], and issued the thongzin [tib. thongs 'dzin] permit telling the relevant treba to send this many corvée horses and this many pack animals. In addition to that, the requirements for rituals were to be sent through me to the Kashag for their approval and then the dispatch of the necessary requirements. The monasteries would have a permanent collection for a particular period, for particular rituals and they would give this to me, and this would be sent to the Kashag for its approval. ???

Q

Did you have to go to the office everyday?

Α

Yes.

Q

Where was the office located?

Α

It was held in a room located on the floor after you climb the stairs to the Kashag.

Q

How many officials were there?

Α

There were three of us. We didn't have much that should be done everyday except the regular work like issuing lamyik and also submitting the document the monasteries would bring which had the approved supply requirements they needed. I had to submit it to the Kashag for their approval

Q

Did somebody give them [monasteries] the right to collect the required supplies for the ritual?

Α

Yes. It was written in that document what rituals the monasteries had to perform in a year.

Q

Did they call on the government to get the materials for the ritual?

Α

No. The monasteries would give us the document and we had to send it to the Kashag. After it was approved, then they will get the necessary supplies from the individual officers.

Q

It seems strange that the Kashag did that. Shouldn't this have been done by the Yigtsang because it is related to the monastery?

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The Yigtsang was doing all the additional rituals and the Kashag was doing the regular rituals.

Q

How did people get a lamyig? To whom would they issue the lamyig?

Α

The laymig [unclear] For example, if a man had to go somewhere on an official trip, the Kashag would ask him to go and they would then tell us that the lamyik should be issued to the man who was to go. Immediately, we would look up in the list and see what he was entitled to. Depending on the person, that could be two horses or five horses or three horses. Then we would write what he was entitled to as corvee. Also we would write that he had to be helped crossing rivers and he should be given fuel for one stove or one kitchen. After the trip, the lamyik should be returned to us.

Q

In this lamyig, did they mention every place he will be going, or just a specific distance like from this place to that place?

Α

It would be written from one point to another, like from Lhasa to Gyantse.

Q

So the miser who were obliged to send corvées horse wouldsend the horses, right?

Α

Yes.

Q

These would just be sent by the people who were designated [to pay the tax]?

Α

Whoever's turn it was [in the local area to send a horse] they had to do it.

Q

Did your miser have to do this?

Α

If somebody came with the government lamyik to their area they had to do it.

Q

You know, one of the things I heard that Tashilunpo was angry about was that they were finding that before the Babshi, they never had to send corvée horses and pack animals, but after the Babshi was done, their miser had to send these. Did you ever heard that?

Α

I think that the lamyik said that wherever you reached, wherever there were living human beings in the entire area of Tibet, they had to honor the lamyig. There was no such thing that one did not have to do this.

Q

What about if one miser killed another miser in the past? If two Tashilunpo misers killed each other would they have to notify the government in the old days? Or the miser of Sakya and Drigung, one of these big entities, would they have to notify the dzong or something or would they be able to handle it on their own?

Α

I think they would have to report to the concerned local dzongpön. They were not allowed to decide on their own.

Q

I mean before the Dalai Lama came back from India?

Α

Probably it was like this long before that.

What was the difference between Sakya and Tashilunpo and, say, Tsögo, who was a small family, and then there was Lhagyari, a gigantic one? Was there any difference? What was the difference between them? Some people say that the Tashilunpo was not like Sera, and that it was something different. And they say Sakya was not like Tashilunpo, that it was something special and that Lhagyari wasn't like the normal [aristocratic families]? What was the difference with them before the Dalai Lama came back?

Α

They had the right to exercise legal jurisdiction over one's subjects (Trimgo Rangtsen [tib. khrims 'go rang btsan.) We also had that right. In the past, they also could cut off hands and legs.

Q

What was that Trimgo Rangtsen? Was that a written document they had?

Α

It was a written document saying that the Sambo [family] has Trimgo Rangtsen. When I was young, about 9-10 years old and going to school, there were 7 monks from Sera. During the daytime, they were staying in the park called Thief Park [tib. rkun ma gling ga] located on a small island in the middle of the Lhasa River. During the night, they would come to Lhasa and started to steal a lot. At that time, the thieves were widely known to be the monks from Sera. I heard that Sera Monastery caught hold of them, and punished them by cutting off their hands. Actually, they were not allowed to cut off anybody's arms and legs, but the monasteries however continued doing that, whether they were allowed to or not.

Q

Do you think there was any difference in the past between the rights of Tashilungpo and Sera?

Α

Probably there wasn't any difference between their rights and those of Sera and Drepung. So this is what happened, among the monks, even as far as the government was concerned, they gouged the eyeballs of Lungshar though it was forbidden by the

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Dalai Lama's edict which said that the sense organs and hands and legs could not be harmed. But when Lungshar's eyeballs were gouged out, nobody ever said that this was not allowed. This was not mentioned at all. These two happened during Reting's period which was after the pronouncement of the Dalai Lama's edict. I never heard of anything except these two.

Q

Could you, say, take the miser from your estate, and say I am going to give you Pemba or whoever it may be, and take the whole family to send them?

Α

They would not send the whole family. They would send one person like this. That's why it is said that the feudal system is not good where they give people to each other. This was going on even today in Lhasa. Our system was a feudal system and we used to exchange men or sell them. What was happening was that if I badly needed somebody's man, then I would ask for him and in exchange I would give someone of his choice in exchange. However there was no exchange of a whole family.

Q

Why would they want somebody so badly? Was it because they had some particular skill or what?

Α

Yes. Mainly if they could do something well, like being good writers or craftsmen or someone who might be capable.

O

But this was not for working in the fields?

Α

Yes, it was not. It was sort of to be a close attendant. Someone who could joke around and things like that, that type of thing.

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Did people actually buy people? Say, would they give say a 100 dotse per person?
A
Yes. There were such cases.
Q
How did that work?
A
Supposing you have a very good clerk and I need him very badlythen I might offer 100 dotse or 600 dotse for this person. That was very bad.
Q
So that person instead of being his miser becomes your miser, right?
A
Yes.
Q
But he stays as a miser?
A
Yes.
Q
If the miser had a wife and kids would they go with him, or what would happen?
A
If their family was divided or the parents were separated, then the sons would go with the father and the daughters with the mother. If the father belonged to family A and the mother belongs to family B, then the sons would go to family A and the daughters would go with the mother of family B. This was something left over from the feudal system.
Q

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Now there is a custom that when a person becomes a monk, he would have to ask his lords for the permission called chötröl [tib. chos 'khrol], right?

Α

Yes.

Q

Could they say no?

Α

They can say no, but nobody said no.

Q

But that is for becoming a monk. Now what about if you get married? Do you have to seek permission?

Α

For marriage they do not have to seek permission. But when they have children there was some problem as the daughters would belong to the mother and the sons to the father.

Q

Would it be a problem if the girls lived on your estate and the boy on some other estate, then when the girl got married to a boy from other estate, if the girl asked for the permission to pay mibo and if she get the permission, then they could get married and settle down and raise a family, right?

Α

There were many such cases where the two couples had different lords, but somehow they could manage it.

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Now it could happen that the wife might have wished to go and live with her husband or lover, and asked her lord for permission. If she was not granted this permission, then what would happen?

Α

Normally, she would not inform the lord at all. Even if she did not get the permission to pay the mibo, they would stay or live together.

Q

If they were real miser, what would happen?

Α

If they were paying mibo already, it was okay. If they didn't pay mibo and if it was just an ordinary miser, even then they would stay together. The problem arose when they get separated. Then there used to be claims and counter claims etc. When they were together, there would be no problems.

Q

Was there any custom where a person could say I don't want to be under anybody and I'll give you a hundred dotse or something. Were there any such cases?

Α

Mibo itself was very light. After paying one sang or two, there were no further obligations. This is how it should have been, but the monks were very tight and I did not know until I was in prison that they were so difficult that some people had to pay 10 or 15 dotse for the mibo fee and there may have even been cases where 70 dotse were taken in every year. If they charge so much, then the lord didn't need to plant the fields if they have about 1,000 misers. [laughter]

Q

Geleg: I don't think there are such cases.

A

I swear by the Three Jewels that there were such cases.

Q

How could they pay so much mibo?

Α

Some of them were quite rich, but didn't have much land. I also told them that probably this was not true, but they said it is true.

Q

Do you have any particular person to tell me who collected 70 dotse for the mibo?

Α

They didn't tell me clearly who he was.

Q

Probably, this was just one person.

Α

Yes, that was a very rare case. But there was the case of a miser in the Sheo [tib. zhe bo] area on the Indian border under Tsöna district which was located very close to Dumra [tib. Idum ra]> There was one family where the husband belonged to Sheo [tib. zhe bo] and the wife belonged to another lord. At the moment some one was born, they had to pay a birth tax called Kyesag [tib. skyes sag], which was a half khe of grain. And when people died, they had to pay a death tax called Shisag [tib. shi sag]. I had never heard about this. This was in the latter part of 1958. Then on about the tenth month, people tried to protest and submitted a petition, but the family who was collecting the Kyesag and the Shisag was obedient to Dumra [tib. Idum ra], who was the gadrung. Since I knew Dumra and he kind of liked me, I wrote to Dumra saying that this is a tax nobody should collect and I said that if you tell them something, they will listen. He replied that if it were true, he would definitely tell them to stop that in the future. I had to write a letter to Dumra because the man who was paying the Kyesag and the Shisag was the husband of a miser of Sambo, so it was because of that I was involved.

After the Second World War, what was the general public opinion about everything?

Α

Immediately after the war, there was great instability in Tibet in the sense that nobody knew what was happening. Some few people were quiet happy the war had ended and soon some people were sent to congratulate the allies for their military victory. They went to the British and they also sent some to China to congratulate them. Around that time, it coincided with when the Guomindang's National Assembly [ch. guo min da hui] was being held. I don't know whether they had purposely arranged the time of meeting at that time. So the Tibetan group sent for congratulations also probably attended the meeting in the beginning not knowing much about the meeting. [laughter]

Q

Did they really not know about it or did they attend the meeting knowingly?

Α

In the beginning, there wasn't any talk other than going to give congratulations on the military victory. If there was something else, they would have given instructions to the group. When they attended the meeting, they found that all the people attending the meeting were from the places that were part of China and when they talked, they were talking differently. Then they discussed what should we do, because all of the people were from places that were part of China. They also talked about signing their names and I heard that they decided not to sign their names. They might have told the Chinese that they have to go somewhere. Right at that time, it was said that the Afro-Asian meeting will be held.